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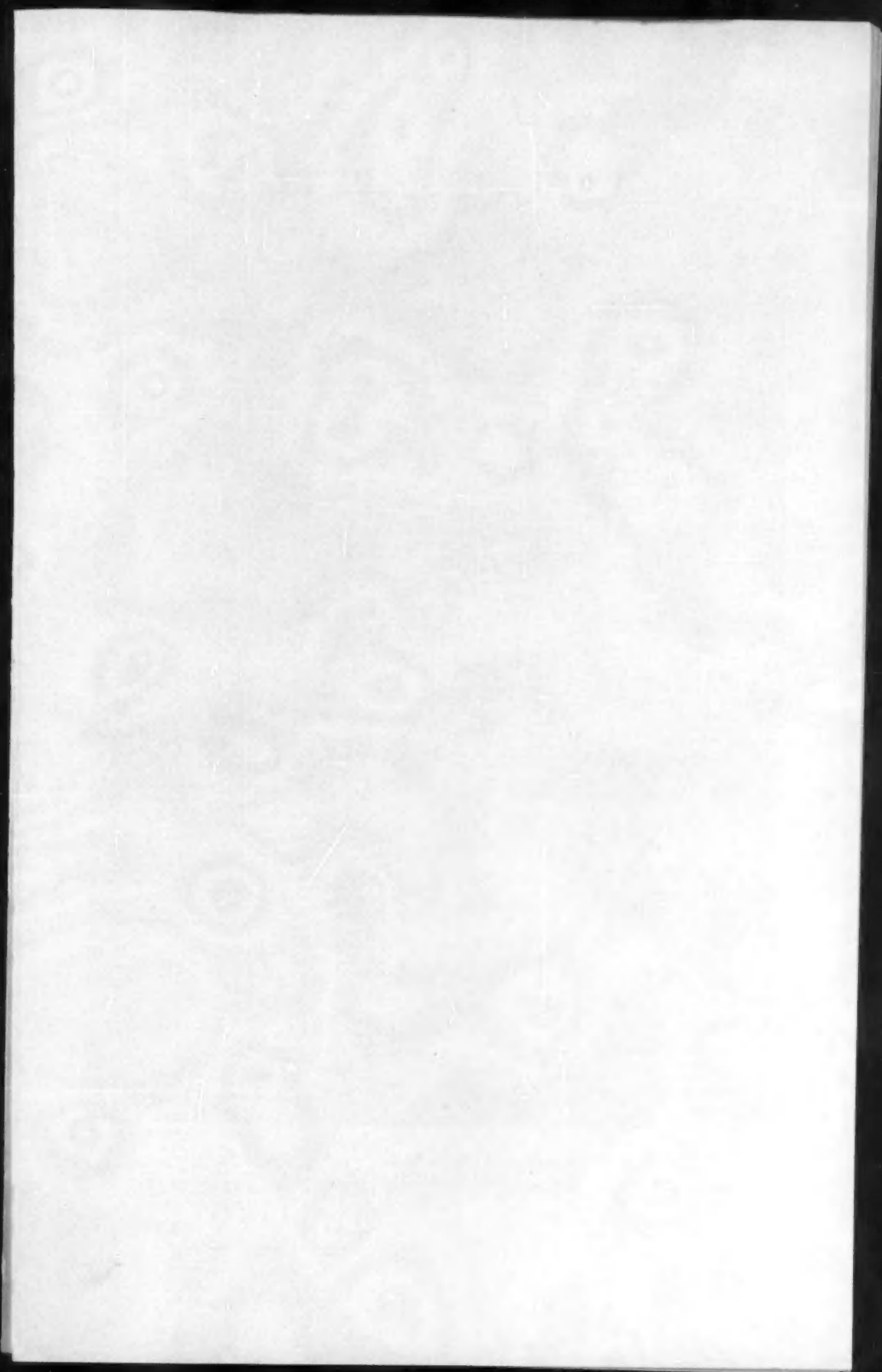
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THE REUNION MOVEMENT IN MALABAR 1930—1955

IN the Autumn issue of the *E.C.Q.* of last year we made some comments on the working of the reunion experiment known as the Church of South India. We saw that though a few Anglo-Catholics had joined the C.S.I. it was in the main Protestant.

This issue is devoted to the beginnings and the growth of the reunion movement now taking place between the Jacobites and the Catholic Church in Malabar, South India.

These Catholics of the Antiochene rite known in India as the Malankara rite are keeping the silver jubilee of their reunion with the Holy See. This event should be both a cause of rejoicing and of deep interest for all Christians working for Christian Unity.

Mr A. Hastings in the *Tablet* (28th May) has given a very informative appreciation of the fruitfulness of the movement and what the local Catholics have gained by this union. He is wrong, however, when he says that Pope Pius XI created a new rite, the rite they use is but a local variation of the West Syrian rite of Antioch whose Catholic patriarch is the venerable Cardinal Tappouni. The majority of the Lebanese Catholics, the Maronites, use a more latinized form of this rite and they also have a patriarch.

All the following articles except one are written by Syro-Malankarese. The one exception is the paper by Fr Hambye, a Belgian Jesuit who is very interested in the movement and gathered together the material for this special issue.

The articles are arranged so as to give an historical sequence, and there is a certain amount of overlapping which was unavoidable.

We begin by showing the link with the Syro-Malabar Catholics. We then turn to the Jacobites; the story of the reunion movement (note the part the Anglicans had in this); some account of the Congregation of the Imitation of Christ, the spearhead of the reunion.

There are two previous issues of the *E.C.Q.* that have some bearing on the present matter: A special issue on the Catholics of the Syro-Malabarese of the Chaldean rite, October-December 1947; Some account of the present position of the two Syrian rites is given in the Autumn issue of 1952.

THE EDITOR.

THE MALANKARA-SYRIAN RITE

THAT there occurred unfortunately, a split in the Chaldeo-Syrian community of Malabar during the second half of the seventeenth century has been a heartrending thought for about the last three hundred years to every sincere lover of Christianity in India. The fact that the source of the division could not be traced, at the first instance, to any doctrinal difference, only adds to the poignancy of the grief. It is a great pity that the Malabar-Syrian community which at one time had a sovereign ruler of its own, acknowledged the authority of the same spiritual head, and believed in the same religious doctrines and observed the same ritual practices is at present divided into various conflicting camps, not only in aspirations and ambitions, in denominational attachment and liturgical observance, but in vital principles of religion and morality also. The descendants of those who entertained Marignoli for months together at Quilon as the papal Legate, or greeted Vasco da Gama as the envoy of the Most Catholic (Faithful) king of Portugal are now composed of heterogeneous, disunited, disintegrating elements, Catholics, Jacobites, Mar-Thomites, Protestants, Chaldeo-Nestorians and others including Atheists and Communists.

Many are the facts of history that show that the entire body of the Malabar-Syrians had the same faith and the same liturgy throughout the whole range of the pre-Portuguese period. Malabar Christianity was during that period subject to the Holy See through the patriarchs of Babylon. Thus, it

was that Pope John XXII in 1328 consecrated the Dominican Friar Jordano as bishop of Quilon and sent him to Malabar with a papal bull dated 8th April 1330 addressed to Thomas, the Nazranie or Syrian chief of the country. In 1348 the Franciscan bishop John Marignoli was sent by Pope Clement VI as papal legate to the St Thomas Christians of South India. The legate was received by the Syrians with expressions of loyalty and devotion. They gave him large sums of money 'as a perquisite of my office as pope's legate' to use the bishop's own words; and after one year and four months of stay at Quilon and other places the legate 'took leave of the brethren'. That the Malabar-Syrians were orthodox in faith as well as loyal subjects of the pope is seen from the following account the Italian traveller, Varthema, gives of his contact with them: 'In this city (Kayankolam near Quilon) we found some Christians, of those of St Thomas, some of whom are merchants and believe in Christ as we do'. Varthema probably wanted to disillusion those of his contemporaries and countrymen, who, unable to understand aright the theology of the Malabar Chaldeo-Syrians dared to credit them with Nestorian heresy regarding Christ's Personality and Nature. But, even the attitude of the early Portuguese Missionaries in India, both Jesuits and Franciscans, and most of all, that of St Francis Xavier towards the Chaldeo-Syrians, their participation in the sacraments of the Church, and liturgical acts with Syrians, prelates and priests; their hearing the confession of the Syrians faithful and distributing Holy Communion to them; their baptising the infants and children of the community, their admitting Syrian prelates and priests to officiate in churches and chapels of the Latin rite, and sharing the same altar with them for the Holy Mass and other ceremonies, are all significant facts to be taken into consideration before attributing Nestorian heretical teachings to the Malabar-Syrians of the fifteenth or the sixteenth century. Varthema, quoted above, helps us to have an idea of the way the insignificant mote of certain variations in liturgical practice, in vogue among the Syrians, appeared as colossal beams of heretical teachings to a section of the Padroado Portuguese when he says: 'Those Christian keep Lent longer than we do, but they keep Easter like ourselves, and they all observe the same solemnities as we do. But they celebrate Mass like the Greeks' (*Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, translated by Winter Jones, p. 180).

Shortly after the arrival of the early Portuguese in India, a few Chaldean bishops came to this country from

Mesopotamia; and four of them writing to the patriarch in 1504 gave an account of their relations with the Portuguese. The following extract from the letter gives us information about the friendly and fraternal reception the Chaldean prelates had at the hands of their fellow-Catholics, the Portuguese at Cannanore. 'When we started from Hormizda and came to this town of the Indians, Cananor, we made them understand that we are Christians and indicated them our condition (rank). We were received by them with the greatest joy and they gave us beautiful vestments and twenty gold drachmas and honoured our pilgrimage exceedingly for Christ's sake. We remained with them two and a half months; and they told us that we also should on a certain day celebrate the Holy Mysteries, that is to say offer the Holy Sacrifice. And they destined for it a beautiful place fit for prayer, wherein there was a kind of Oratory. Their priests offer daily the Holy Sacrifice; for this is their custom and rite. Therefore, on Sunday Norsadel, after their priests had celebrated the Holy Sacrifice; and it was pleasing in their eyes' (Schurhammer, *The Malabar Church and Rome*, edited by Fr Placid, pp. 4-8).

The Franciscans who arrived in 1500 were the earliest Portuguese missionaries to work in India. They were followed by the Dominicans who came in 1503. The religious of these Orders respected the integrity of the Chaldean rite with its distinguishing features. That is how the missionaries from Portugal on one side and the Chaldean bishops and priests on the other could work alongside each other and conjointly in administering the sacraments of the Church to the faithful belonging to the Malabar-Syrian community. The Jesuits arrived in 1542; and the earliest among them followed the example of the Franciscans and Dominicans in the matter. Special mention is to be made of the illustrious example of St Francis Xavier, and his benevolent attitude towards the Malabar-Syrian community. In Cochin, as well as in other Syrian centres, where the Saint stayed and passed through along his missionary journeys in South India he mixed freely among the Syrians and their clergy, prayed and worshipped God in their churches, without entertaining the least doubt about the orthodoxy of their faith.

Increase of Portuguese power and prestige opened up a tragic page in the history of the Malabar Syrians. The Portuguese who were no more than visitors and guests, to begin with, assumed an attitude of authority and tried to interfere in the affairs of the Syrians in an unwarranted and

unwanted manner. The erection of the See of Goa in 1534, with jurisdiction over a vast area 'ranging from the Cape of Good Hope to India and from India to China with all the towns and places on mainland or islands discovered or yet to be discovered' by the Portuguese; and the Holy See granting to the Crown of Portugal 'the right of patronage and presentation to the see and ecclesiastical posts and benefices' (Hull, *Bombay Mission History*, Vol. I, p. 36) provided a pretext for this authoritarian venture of the Portuguese Padroadists. Ambition gave rise to suspicion; and during the second half of the sixteenth century the rite and liturgy of the Syro-Chaldeans of Malabar seemed saturated with objectionable heretical doctrines and practices to a good many among the European missionaries in India, who, relying on Portugal's Padroado rights, strove hard to wean the Syrians of those teachings and practices and also from the authority of the patriarch of Babylon. These missionaries could not hold their souls in peace, so long as they saw that the Malabar Syrians did not eat meat or fish on fasting days, commenced Lent a few days previous to Ash Wednesday, and their priests celebrated Mass using leavened bread. Means were resorted to force the Syrians to conform to the Latin rite and practice. Some yielded to the pressure brought to bear on them by the Portuguese; but others clung positively to their time-honoured rite and liturgy. Here is an observation about a section of the latter: 'But, when, later on, the Portuguese wanted to force them to eat fish on fasting days and to commence Lent on Ash Wednesday and did not allow their priests to consecrate leavened bread in the Mass they went back to the mountains to live with the Hindus' (Orient. Conqu., p. 70). All these who were unwilling to conform to the Latin rite did not leave their own places. The vast majority of them remained in their ancestral parishes, some keeping their own churches for themselves, and others sharing the churches with those who had gone over to the Latin rite.

Though the papal brief addressed to Patriarch Simon Sulaka by Julius III makes mention of the Church in 'Calicut and the whole of India' as being subject to the authority of the patriarch of Babylon, the first bishop of Goa, Dom Joao de Albuquerque, presumed to have authority over the St Thomas Syrians of Malabar who belonged to the Chaldean rite. Accordingly, the bishop undertook a pastoral visit to the south with the object of forcing the St Thomas Christians to accept the Latin rite. But, since St Francis Xavier, a friend of the

Chaldean bishop, Mar Jacob, was in Malabar at the time of the Goa bishop's visit, the Padroado bishop did not press his suit, due to the advice of the saint. The subsequent attempt of the Padroado authorities was to win over the Syrian clergy to their side. Since the older generation of the clergy remained faithful to the Chaldean rite, a new generation of priests had to be trained; and Bishop Albuquerque sent his friend and companion, Fr Vincent de Lagos, to start a college or seminary for Syrian youths at Cranganore. Writing to Simon Rodrigues of the Society of Jesus about this college, Francis Xavier said, 'One hundred students, some of those that descended from the Christians whom St Thomas converted' attended that Institution, in his time. In 1557, when Goa was raised to be an archdiocese, the diocese of Cochin was erected as suffragan to it; and no mention was made of the diocese of Angamale though the Syrians had their episcopal seat there, with a bishop of their own rite acknowledging the authority of the Holy See. However, after a few years, the Catholic faith of the bishop of Angamale and the flock entrusted to his care appeared to be recognized; and the bishop of Angamale was invited to attend the second council of Goa in 1575. The bishop, Mar Abraham, declined the invitation, and sent a letter explaining his conduct to Rome. But the council did not leave Mar Abraham or his people alone. The first decree of the third council of Goa reads: 'For the welfare of the Thomas Christians who live in Malabar, it is convenient that the diocese should be governed by a prelate presented by the king of Portugal, and not by the Chaldean patriarch; for otherwise, many abuses will penetrate among them. Or at least, the council should ask His Holiness that the archbishop of Angamale, having no suffragan bishops, and being difficult for him to go to Syria, owing to the long distance, should be bound to attend the council of this province' (Bull, *Patron-Portu*, App. I, p. 43). Similar attempts to introduce the Latin rite among the Chaldeo-Syrians continued with increased zest on the part of the Padroado authorities, as the spirit of co-operation between the Syrians and the Portuguese on the religious plane progressed. In 1583 a provincial council was convoked for Angamale under the joint sponsorship of the Chaldean archbishop and the Portuguese Jesuits. Fr Pedro Luis, the first Jesuit Brahmin, celebrated Mass in Latin followed at the same altar by Syrian Mass performed by a Chaldeo-Syrian priest, brother of the archdeacon. It appears that Mar Abraham had closer ties with the archbishop of Goa after

this, for we see Mar Abraham as one of the promoters of the third council of Goa in 1585. We have the following in the first decree of this Goan council: 'Dom Frey Vicente da Fonseca, by the grace of God and the Holy Roman Church, archbishop metropolitan of Goa, with the advice and consent of the Most Rev. Lords, D. Mar Abraham, archbishop of Angamale, and D. Matheus, bishop of Cochin, "Comprovinciales" declare this third provincial council of Goa, gathered by us and convoked in this noble city, this Sunday, day of the Holy Ghost, the 9th June 1585, to be begun for the glory and honour of the Most Holy and Individual Trinity, and for the reformation of this our Province.' Some of the decrees of the council reveal which way the wind blew. The seventh decree ordered the translation into Chaldaic of the Latin missal and the Roman breviary for the use of the Syrians. The pontifical for ordination service and for the administration of the sacraments was also to be translated, to serve the same purpose. By the eighth decree a religious of the Society of Jesus was to be the councillor of the archbishop of Angamale. The tenth decree forbade anyone coming from Chaldea in order to work among the Malabar Christians as bishop or simple priest to enter there without first showing his letter patent to the archbishop of Goa. Mar Abraham went to Goa on the assurance of safe conduct given him by Fr Valignano, the Jesuit visitor; and perhaps lured by the prospect of an annual pension of 400 crusadoes obtained for him from the king of Portugal by Fr Pacheco. After signing the decrees of the council in November 1585, the prelate returned to Malabar accompanied by the Jesuit councillor, Fr Francis Roz. Returning to Malabar and having his people round him, Mar Abraham did not care for the Roman pontifical, nor for the Latin ordo; and the Mass and the sacraments went on in the old Chaldaic fashion. The Padroado authorities applied the thick end, no thin end, please, of the wedge in 1599; and the council of Diamper which was convened in that year by Dom Menezes, archbishop of Goa, with the support of the pagan rulers of Malabar split the Chaldean character of Malabar Christianity into shreds; and the forged seal of Nestorianism was indelibly stamped on it. Chaldean missal, Chaldean pontifical, etc., were mutilated and a translation of Latin versions were brought into use along with Latin rite vestments. The Chaldean line of bishops was put an end to; and the patriarch of Babylon was anathematized. To crown all the European Jesuit, Fr Roz, was installed as bishop of the Chaldeo-Syrians!

Repeated attempts have been made since then to restore the Malabar Chaldeo-Syrian Church to its original position and Oriental Catholic character; but it must be regretfully admitted that most of such attempts failed, tending in the wrong direction, and leading the community away from its ancestral spiritual moorings. The Puthenkoor division, Jacobite secession, Nestorian heresy, Protestantism of different shades, and other doctrinal aberrations crept into the community in the wake of such attempts. However, providence singularly favoured the Jacobite Reunion Movement initiated by the late Mar Ivanios of happy memory in 1930; and the Holy See set its seal of approval on it by doing away with many of the restrictions which unhappily the Padroado put in the way of the Chaldeo-Syrians. The recognition of the Malankara-Syrian rite which permits the use of the vernacular in the celebration of Holy Mass and administration of the sacraments by the Sovereign Pontiff, is among the greatest achievements of the movement. Our Lord's miracle of the multiplication of the Five Loaves to feed to satiety a multitude of hungry people has been referred to, in connexion with the speedy progress and unchecked career of the movement; for the group of five Jacobites including Mar Ivanios, that embraced the Catholic Church a quarter of a century ago, has developed into a strong and vigorous community blessed with a separate hierarchy of its own having at its head a metropolitan-archbishop and constituted into two dioceses with bishops, priests, monks and nuns. Though the pre-Diamper rite and liturgy have not been restored in their original form, lovers of both can have the consolation to know that the Syriac languages are not channels of heretical teachings, and that the use of the leavened bread by the priest for the celebration of Holy Mass and reception of Holy Communion by the faithful under both species are only lawful practices consistent with the universality of the Catholic Church.

The chaotic conditions in the Malabar Jacobite Church, her bishops hurling sentences of excommunication against each other, and dragging rivals into State courts, and the consequent decay of discipline and morality among the masses, opened the eyes of Archbishop Mar Ivanios to the unique claims of the Holy Catholic Roman Church, wherein he found peace, contentment and happiness. If only present-day Jacobite prelates had followed his example in this year of the Silver Jubilee of the Reunion Movement!

V. G. GEORGE.

THE SYRIAN JACOBITES IN INDIA— A SURVEY OF THEIR PAST AND PRESENT POSITION

It is not out of place, I think, to offer the reader a portrait of Jacobite Christianity in India. It was within that Church that Mar Ivanios began his reunion movement, and even now the Jacobites form an appreciable number of those who regularly seek reunion with Rome. To understand the present position of the Indian Jacobites some historical background is necessary.

One must bear in mind that the existence of Jacobites in India is a fairly recent phenomenon. Before the middle of the seventeenth century, there had been no hierarchical connexion between the Eastern Christians of India and the Jacobite patriarchate of Antioch. After the ill-fated breach of 1652, a hard core of Syro-Malabar faithful steadily refused to have anything to do with the Catholics. They were led by Thomas Parambil, the former archdeacon of the Catholic archdiocese of Cranganore, and by several priests. Though the archdeacon dared to assume episcopal powers, he felt deeply the awkwardness of his position. This feeling but deepened after his cousin, Alexander Parambil, had become the first Syro-Malabar bishop in 1663.

This uneasiness about the validity of the sacraments induced the dissident group to look about for some new hierarchical and apostolic dependence. So far little is known concerning the various approaches made among the dissident Churches of the then Turkish empire. The Jacobite patriarch responded most positively to the call from Malabar, and he sent there the first Jacobite bishop to come to India, Mar Gregorios, metropolitan of Jerusalem (1665).¹ In course of the century which followed, other Jacobite prelates landed in Kerala, and their common policy seems to have been quite simple, to strengthen the bonds between the Indian community and the Jacobite Church of Antioch. Apart from that, they but imposed a minimum of doctrine and of liturgical observances, leaving unchanged many a practice of the Catholic times. Above all they never gave episcopal consecration to the successors of the first leader of the community, who went on calling themselves 'Mar Thomas'.

¹ Peter Mar Gregorios was the nephew of the Jacobite patriarch Abdelmassih er Rahai, H. Musset, *Histoire du Christianisme spécialement en Orient*, Jérusalem, 1948, Vol. II, p. 219.

It was only by 1772 that valid episcopal consecration was imparted on Mar Thomas VI, who took over the title of Mar Dionysios I. That date can be regarded as a landmark in the history of the Indian Jacobites, for from then on they enjoyed an almost unbroken line of validly consecrated bishops of their own blood. Still, in those days, the Christians of this jurisdiction did still maintain many liturgical details, which had nothing or little in common with the Jacobite ritual. Even their faith in Monophysism as heralded by the Fathers of the Jacobite dissidency, was at least very vague, if it existed at all.

The first half of the nineteenth century brought to pass many important changes in the life of the Jacobites of Malabar. On the one hand, the impact of the British protectorate was considerably felt; on the other hand, the hierarchical relations with Mardin, the seat of the Jacobite patriarch, became much closer. I will mention at once the effects of these relations; then I will summarize the outcome of Protestant influence.

About 1860 a Jacobite bishop, Mar Kurillos by name, succeeded at last in imposing on the Malabar community the whole ritual of the Jacobite Church, and also in enforcing the use of the West-Syrian script. Thus by the middle of the century some uniformity was established, a uniformity most beneficial for the formation of the clergy and for the devotion of the faithful. The West-Syrian rite of Antioch became henceforward the cherished treasure of the Indian Jacobites. In course of the the following years, a *malpan* (doctor, learned priest) called Konath gathered at Pampakuda a good number of manuscripts, which he had collected mainly from Mesopotamia. Helped by his parishioners and also by the Protestants, he was able to set up a small printing press, *Mar Julius Press*. Later on, it enabled him to publish commendable editions of the liturgical books, long before the Jacobites of the Near East could think of printing their own. Occasionally, priests from Syria and Mesopotamia came to Malabar, and they taught their ways of worship. Although introduced partly under Protestant influence, marriage among the clergy was encouraged by the Jacobites themselves and, in 1876, it became compulsory at least for the priest in charge of souls. On the whole the action coming from the Near East played in favour of more unification. We shall see how that helped the Indian Christians to counteract Protestant inducements, and to consolidate their position as an Eastern Church.

It is much more difficult to appreciate the ascendancy

exercised by British Protestantism on the Jacobite Church in India. It seems to me that the best way would be to judge it from the very standpoint of the Jacobites. Thus Protestant work among them had both a positive and negative effect.

To the positive acquisitions can be ascribed, I believe, the early introduction by Anglican (Low Church) missionaries of the vernacular (Malayalam) into the liturgy, and the spread of the Bible in the same. The former gave a living liturgy to the faithful, and permitted the strongly congregational worship, as practised till our days by the Jacobites and the Syro-Malankarese Catholics. As for the latter, it became the custom among many families to read a section of the Bible every day. Moreover, thanks to Protestant schools, mainly run under the auspices of the C.M.S., better and higher education was shared by the next generations, and it explains to a large extent why the elite of the Indian Jacobites, almost half a century before their Catholic countrymen, became more advanced culturally. The clergy shared also this common advancement. For the ordinary folk, catechetical classes, Bible courses and better preaching were also fostered by the most enlightened members of the Jacobite faith.

Besides, under the friendly advice and co-operation of some of those early Protestant missionaries, a whole system of parochial schools was introduced and caused a great rise in the percentage of literacy, first of all among the Jacobites, but also among the people of all castes and creeds.

Later on, in spite of the estrangement created by the reformatory attitude of Low Church Anglicanism, the Jacobites remained on happy terms with many Protestant institutions, if not with the Protestant communities as such. With the advent in India of the Oxford movement and the spreading of High Church tendencies, more fruitful relations developed again between the Jacobites and other Protestants, who mainly but not exclusively belonged to the Anglo-Catholic section. For instance, the Jacobites received much support and advice from the religious of the Oxford Mission of Bengal; many students went to the Madras Christian College (mainly under Scottish and Presbyterian patronage), to Serampore College near Calcutta (of Baptist origin, but already tending to become interdenominational), or to the Anglican Bishop's College of Calcutta. Owing to the good standard of education in Travancore-Cochin, many others could at least read Anglican textbooks of theology and morals, or good commentaries on the Scripture.

The revival of religious life among the Anglicans was also a good example for the Jacobites. Let us not forget that Fr P. T. Geevargheese, the future Mar Ivanios, drew many of his ideas about religious life from the Fathers of the Oxford Mission, already mentioned, and that he sent his first Bethany Sisters to be trained at Barisal, Bengal, by the Sisters of the Oxford Mission. The formation of more than one confraternity and missionary society (either working in Malabar or outside) was also inspired by similar associations among the Anglicans.

Two personalities were extremely influential in bringing together the Jacobites and the Anglicans, Mar Ivanios and Mr K. C. Chacko (*d.* 1947). The former was the first Jacobite cleric to go to Madras and to take an M.A. degree in economics in the Christian College. Either as principal of the Jacobite High School at Kottayam, or as a member of the Serampore College staff during World War I, he certainly exercised an extraordinary fascination on many young men, was instrumental in calling to Serampore several groups of students from Malabar, and he provoked a growing co-operation between the Jacobites and the Protestants in the educational field. Mr K. C. Chacko, as we shall see when speaking of the ecumenical movement, was greatly responsible for bringing about lasting means of association between members of various Churches in Malabar and in the rest of India.

On the recent influence of Protestantism, above all of Anglo-Catholicism, one can say that it worked in a threefold direction: a quickening of spiritual life, higher standards of education, and growing interest in missionary work. One of the signs of such friendship, as exists between Jacobites and Anglicans, can be found in the fact that outside Malabar more than one Anglican church was and is still used by the Jacobites for their Sunday Service.

In spite of those acquisitions, heavy liabilities originated from Protestantism. As it had been represented for many decades in Travancore, Protestant Anglicanism was of a very strong and evangelistic form. It had not yet acquired any sense of ecumenism and co-operation on a broad basis. Between 1815 and 1830, early Protestant missionaries, helped indeed by the British power, set to work to 'reform' the Jacobites according to the tenets and practices of their Church. The Jacobite metropolitans and most of their faithful came soon to realize the threat and, as early as 1836, a definite separation took place. Nevertheless, the seeds of the

'reformation' had born fruits, and caused two dissidencies from the Jacobites, the first one being a small group of Syrians who became Anglicans straight away, the second one which was much more important, kept many externals of the Jacobite ritual. Its followers are called the Mar Thomites, they are strongly Protestant in their outlook, and their parting from the Jacobite fold suscitated between 1860 and 1880 endless disputes on doctrinal matters and on church properties. Protestantism had succeeded in weakening the Jacobites, without any positive advantages in faith or discipline for those who had seceded.

At least, it is possible to add that those reformatory intrusions had some good counter effects for the Jacobites themselves. The feelings of orthodoxy ran high among them; they asserted their best traditions, and they willingly submitted to a full reorganization of their Church, prepared by several synods and meetings. In 1875 the Patriarch Peter IV Ignatius visited Malabar. Under his direction, a so-called 'Jacobite Christian Association' was formed to look after the temporal welfare of the Church. Other timely measures were taken, such as the setting up of seven eparchies (Quilon, Kottayam, Kandanat, Cochin, Thumpanam, Angamale, Niranam), headed by a metropolitan, Mar Dionysios V. This prelate was not to be a sort of archbishop in the Eastern sense, but only a *primus inter pares*. Actually he succeeded in securing some kind of supremacy over the other bishops who became his suffragans. When Patriarch Peter left India, he could look forward to the future of his Indian faithful with some confidence.²

It was not long before the patriarch's hopes were partly foiled. If Protestantism had helped not a little to disturb the Jacobite community, another fissipareous movement crept in, autocephalous nationalism.

Viewed from a certain angle, the dependence of the Indian Jacobites on a Near-East patriarchate of little note looked rather odd. The Indian community was much more numerous, and its social, economic and cultural advancement contrasted with its counterpart in Syria and Mesopotamia. There is little doubt that many Indians felt uneasy about that. There was a feeling of frustration, and some measure of independence within the frame of the Jacobite Church was wanting.

² The patriarch seems to have had Catholic tendencies. In 1892 he wrote to the apostolic delegate of the Near East and declared him his readiness to submit to the Holy See, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 241.

These nationalist tendencies came to a head by 1909-12. It opened the door to renewed quarrels and discontents. One section secured from a forcibly deposed patriarch, Mar Abdelmassih II,³ the recognition of the head of the Malabar Jacobites, as a catholicos, as a sort of quasi-patriarch of their own. It was an attempt at resuscitating the Jacobite maphrian, but to the advantage of India, not of Mesopotamia. The other section did not want such a large measure of independence and remained faithful to the direct jurisdiction of the patriarch. Hence the existence of two opposite parties, still very much alive to-day, the first being called the catholicos' party, the other the patriarch's. For the last forty years, these two parties have practically remained in their positions. Twice, important prelates of the catholicos' party went to see the Jacobite patriarch at Homs and tried to reach some agreement, but of no avail. In 1931 the then Jacobite patriarch, Mar Elias III Ignatius Shaker, came to Malabar in order to bring about a reconciliation, but he died there without achieving any success.

Except for the part taken by some leading lay members of the community, those very serious discords were mainly a clerical business. Not only the rank and file of the Jacobites, but the intellectual layman looked askance at those juridical skirmishes, the end of which seemed to be very remote. Several among them tried to keep what I would call a mental neutrality, and to maintain a rather detached view of these unfortunate developments. Thanks to such independence, the laity gained in prestige and influence. They tended to act as referees in Church disputes. Such a growth of lay influence in Church affairs is a general characteristic of the Eastern dissident Churches, but in Malabar it was also helped by the instability of the ecclesiastical government.

³ Really the voyage to Malabar was thought-provoking, for Abdelmassih passed through Jerusalem on his way back from India and contacted there the Syrian Catholic patriarchal vicar, Mar Haluli, and he handed over to the Latin patriarch of the Holy City, Mgr Camasei, his Catholic profession of faith. He was warmly received at Beirut by the Catholic patriarch of the Syrians, Mar Ignatius Ephrem Rahmani. When the latter visited Rome, Abdelmassih accompanied him, and he was received by St Pius X with great cordiality. The pope gave him a pectoral cross. After having settled again at Beirut for some time, Abdelmassih retired among his relatives, in a village situated near Mardin. Although Abdelmassih died without the help of a Catholic priest and was buried by the Jacobites, there is no doubt that he remained firm in his Catholic faith till the end, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 242, and the Syriac narrative of the last years of Abdelmassih, sent in 1953 to His Grace Mar Severios by His Beatitude Mar Ignatius Gabriel Tappouni, which I could consult at Tiruvalla in December 1953.

During the years following World War II, some groups of Jacobite youth, encouraged by laymen and by priests, formed a 'Peace League'. They had also the support of the Young Christian Council of Action, an interdenominational association under Anglican leadership.⁴ In February and March of this year, a group of six peacemakers (two priests and four laymen) created quite a stir by launching a new campaign. The first step taken in this venture was a sort of hunger-strike, a *satyagraha*, consisting in a succession of fasts and prayers offered day and night in front of one of the Jacobite churches in Kotayam, which has been closed for several years on account of the rift. As formerly, their plan was to do away with legal proceedings before the secular courts, to restore the unity of the Jacobite community in India, and to put aside any remnants of Jacobitism. The Malankara Church should be recognized as a Syrian Orthodox Catholicate within the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch and Supreme Head of the Universal Orthodox Church. Following this peace move, several meetings were held between the leaders of the two sections. Even the petition to be filed in the High Court of Travancore-Cochin in order to withdraw all law suits had already been signed by the catholicos. However, the patriarch and his Indian followers seem to look suspiciously at such uncanonical means of reunion.

We have just mentioned legal proceedings and law suits. A word is needed to explain the judicial aspect of the squabble. Since about 1912, both parties have been at odds to gain permanent possession of the churches and their properties. Needless to add that such properties are often of considerable value, amounting to several lacs of rupies. In December 1951 the High Court of Ernakulam gave a judgement in favour of the patriarch's party, confirming an earlier decision given some years before Mar Ivanios joined the Catholic Church. But the new judgement was challenged by the catholicos' lawyers before the Supreme Court at New Delhi. Last year, the case was sent back to Malabar for further revision. Such was the deadlock when the recent peace campaign started. According to the latest information available here, this last crusade has failed.

Having summarily recorded the past and recent history of the Jacobites, I feel more confident to go into a short analysis of recent statistics, as well as the present relations of the Indian Jacobites with other dissident Christians.

⁴ *National Christian Council Review* (abbrev. N.C.C.R.), 1946 (66), pp. 254-8.

In the first place, some statistics will doubtless prove useful. They date back to December 1953.

	<i>Bishops</i>	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Seminarists</i>	<i>Faithful</i>	<i>Churches, Chapels</i>
Catholicos' Party	10	215	80	450,000	380
Patriarch's Party	6	100	45	250,000	250

	<i>Colleges</i>	<i>High Schools</i>	<i>Middle Schools</i>	<i>Primary Schools</i>	<i>Hospitals</i>
Catholicos' Party	1	34	40	100	2
Patriarch's Party	none	15	20	40	none

The catholicos, Mar Basilios III (since 1929), resides at Kottayam. He was given an auxiliary bishop, Matthew Mar Ivanios, in 1953. Although there are supposed to be seven eparchies in the Jacobite Church of Malabar, the boundaries of those dioceses are not very definite, and their prelates do not necessarily stay at the centre of their diocese. Here is the list of the Catholicos's bishops with their actual place of residence written between brackets. When a bishop is called metropolitan, it means that he is the head of one of the dioceses, whereas an *episcopa* is either the auxiliary of a metropolitan, or is given some particular responsibility. Matthew Mar Athanasios, *episcopa* (Kottayam, at Mar Dionysios Seminary). Peter Mar Dionysios, metropolitan (Pattanapuzha).

* Besides the Bethany Ashram, there are other confraternities and like associations, such as :

(a) The Servants of the Cross, a missionary brotherhood which had fifteen members in 1945, worked in about seventy-six centres in Travancore-Cochin and had made by the time 18,000 converts, mostly from the depressed classes. The members of the brotherhood take the three yearly vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, and they live on alms and donations. Their centre is situated at Mulanthurthy.

(b) Mount Thabor Mission, a sisterhood founded in 1925 for missionary work among the poor and for a deeper prayer life.

(c) The Immanuel Missionary Society, a kind of confraternity composed of religious and lay members to deepen spiritual life, foster missionary zeal, secure workers and raise money for missionary work.

(d) The Martha Mariam Vanitha Samajam, an association of pious women, intended to raise the spiritual life of the families and to instil the spirit of concrete apostolate.

(e) The Christa Sishya Ashram, Tadagam, Coimbatore, which is a centre of missionary activities in the Madras State. The Ashram is made of members of the Jacobite Church, but it was started under the guidance of the Anglican Bishop, H. Pakenham Walsh and his wife.

Cf. *Directory of Churches and Missions in India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon*, Nagpur, 1949, p. 239, and N.C.C.R., 1945 (65), p. 188.

Peter Mar Eustathios, *episcopa* (Mulathurity).

Mar Gregorios, metropolitan (Kottayam).

Matthew Mar Kurillos, *episcopa* (Tiruvalla).

Daniel Mar Philoxenos, *episcopa* (Patanathutty).

Mar Theodosios, metropolitan (Bethany Ashram, Vadaserikara).

Mar Timotheos, metropolitan (Muvattupuzha).

Mar Theodosios still bears the title of metropolitan of Bethany, once rendered illustrious by Mar Ivanios, Mar Theodosios is one of the very few monks who refused to follow Mar Ivanios into the Catholic Church. Besides his duties of superior of the Bethany Ashram,⁵ he is also a kind of visiting prelate for the Jacobite Diaspora outside the limits of Travancore-Cochin. This diaspora consists of communities living in the great cities of India (Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, Poona, New Delhi). They usually have their own resident priest, if not their own church, as it is the case in Bombay, for instance. Elsewhere, as we have already mentioned, they make use of some Anglican church for their services. Besides those Jacobite groups formed by Malayalam-speaking emigrants, the catholicos looks after the spiritual needs of two Latin communities. They resulted from two petty schisms. One is situated at Brammawar near Mangalore since 1884, the other in Trichinopoly (Tiruchirappalli) since 1936. There is a vicar-general for both groups, and he stays at Trichinopoly. Finally, it is important to notice that in 1934 the catholicos' party was reorganized and given a constitution of its own. Then the electoral principle was enforced and enlarged. Thus the laity is enabled to assume a considerable authority in church matters.

The Jacobites, who remained faithful to the patriarch of Antioch, depend at present on an Indian metropolitan, Mar Gregorios, but there has also been a delegate of the patriarch since 1908. To-day he is Mar Julios and comes from Syria. He lives in India since 1927, and he resides at Onimellur. This delegate seems to enjoy a kind of precedence, among the followers of the patriarch. Besides those two prelates, there are four other bishops to rule the community. The same distinction between metropolitan and *episcopa* applies to the patriarch's party. Here are the names of the other prelates:

Michael Mar Dionysios, metropolitan (Kayankulam).

Paul Mar Philoxenos, *episcopa* (Kandanad).

Mar Severios, metropolitan (Cochin).

Mar Clemis, metropolitan (near Kottayam).

Mar Clemis is the head of the Suddist Jacobites, who all belong to his jurisdiction. The patriarch's community remains faithful to the constitution written at the time of Patriarch Peter IV.

Among the churches claimed by both sections, fifty belonging to the catholicos' people and thirty to the patriarch's, are still under litigation; because the parishes served by those churches are divided according to the two allegiances. Some of those churches are still open and used by both. Many others are closed under government's order, and their revenues are kept under government's control.

Although in many places the two parties are intermingled, yet there exists a certain geographical partition of both. Thus the patriarch's followers are particularly strong in Northern Travancore and in the former State of Cochin. The catholicos' people thickly populate Central and Southern Travancore.

Thanks to their early progress in education, the Jacobites still count among the most active communities of the land. They possess one daily paper, two weeklies and one monthly, in Travancore. Some of their laymen are prominent in the public life of the country. In recent years, almost every government of Travancore-Cochin has had a Jacobite minister. At present there are six Jacobite members of the legislative assembly. But, they have also a high record of success and achievements in the political and administrative spheres of the central government. Since the last elections, there are two Jacobite members of the New Delhi Parliament (Lokh Sabha). One of the private secretaries of the Prime Minister, Mr Nehru, is a Jacobite, Mr M. O. Mattai. Among those many personalities emerges the figure of Mr John Mattai, former Minister of Finance of India. He was recently elected Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University. In June 1955 he was chosen by the government as the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the newly reconstituted State Bank of India.

In the national struggle for independence, either in the whole of India or in Malabar, the Jacobite community played a leading rôle. Let us mention only one instance. In the Madras State, the late Mr George Joseph, a lawyer practising at Madurai, but originally from Travancore, was one of the closest followers of Gandhi, and worked with him to arouse the national feelings of the South. Later on, while keeping his patriotic leadership, he joined the reunion movement of Mar Ivanios. In Travancore itself, many a Jacobite layman led the struggle against the autocratic and anti-national rule of

the ill-famed Dewan of the State, Sir C. P. Ramaswami. Several among them, such as Mr C. P. Matthen, now M.P. at New Delhi, and Mr Mamman Mapillai, late director of the influential daily, *Malayala Manorama*, were sent to prison for their resistance to the Dewan's policy.

May we add that the elite of the Jacobite laity is by far better educated and more influential than its clergy. This unfortunate situation, leading doubtless to a danger of dechristianization is mainly due to the decadence into which the training institutions for the clerics have fallen. This decadence is also the outcome of the discord between the two parties. Many seminaries have been obliged to close down, others do not keep a decent level of clerical education. Thus the average priest is poorly trained and knows little, if anything, about a solid theology, even the objective history of his community, his liturgy, his pastoral duties. No wonder that for the past twenty years there has been a marked deterioration in the internal life of the Church. Such a sad situation is, alas! symbolized by the low state of maintenance of many a church!

Except for hierarchical connexion with their own patriarchate, and for the varied relations with some forms of Indian Protestantism, the Jacobites of India have lived in somewhat isolated conditions. We have now to examine what attempts were made to come into closer contact with the rest of the non-Catholic Christian World.

The Jacobites, especially those depending on the catholikos, did not think impossible to have an understanding with some Eastern Orthodox communities. They were actually prompted by some desire of restoring a link with one or the other of the historic patriarchates. Since the approach towards Rome partly failed, there have been other attempts, often little known to the outside world. At all events it is now sure that they have tried to enter into communion with the Greek Church, and with some sections of the Russian Church of the emigration. In 1936 Malabar was visited by the Russian Orthodox Metropolitan of Harbin (Manchuria), Kyr Dmitri,⁶ and the next year some correspondence was exchanged with the Russian synod of Sremsky-Karlovtsy in Yugoslavia (no win U.S.A.). During the war a Russian priest turned up several times in Malabar, and was very friendly received by the Jacobites. He is said to have resided at Bangalore. More

⁶ This Russian Orthodox metropolitan was well known for his œcumenical spirit. Cf. P. Couturier, *L'Universelle prière des chrétiens*, *Revue Apologétique*, 1937 (65), p. 566.

recently, in the course of the academic year 1953-4, Dr Nicholas Zernov, a leading Russian Orthodox writer and œcumenical worker, was Principal of the Catholicos College in Kottayam.⁷ Even, it seems that the patriarchate of Moscow keeps an eye on the Jacobites of India.⁸

The participation of the Indian Jacobites in the ecumenical movement has born more positive results.

One of the pioneers of the ecumenical movement among the Jacobites of India was Mr K. C. Chacko, already mentioned in connexion with the relations brought about between his community and the Protestants. In point of fact, Chacko went much farther than a co-operation on the local and national fields. He was the first Indian Christian to attend an international Christian conference, and this as early as 1911, at Constantinople, at the meeting of the World Student Christian Federation. But he also prepared the ground on the Indian soil. Due to his unremitting effort and well appreciated leadership, he launched the idea of a common educational enterprise, together with other prospective young men. Thus he became one of the founders of the Union Christian College at Alwaye. This is practically the only place in Travancore where members of various denominations have since worked in peace and close association, without denial of their own particular tradition.⁹

Doubtless such examples pushed forward the participation of the Jacobite Church in the international œcumenical meetings. But let us not be mistaken. Only the catholicos and his people supported the participation with sympathy and took concrete steps to realize it. On the whole the patriarch's section has kept back. This is due to the fact that their hierarchical superiors have taken but a remoted interest in these contacts between Eastern and Protestant Churches. The only exception, I surmise, was the presence of a Jacobite archbishop from Syria at the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order in 1927.

In 1937 the catholicos himself, accompanied by Fr Alexios (the future Mar Theodosios) and Rabban Thomas attended the Edinburgh Conference on Faith and Order. They were members of Section IV, 'The Church of Christ: Ministry

⁷ N. Zernov, *Christianity in India and the Eastern Orthodox Church*, Internat. Review of Missions, 1954 (43), pp. 390-6.

⁸ Cf. *Chronique Religieuse, Irénikon*, 1954 (27), p. 470, and n. 1.

⁹ R. Rouse and S. C. Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, 1517-1948, London, 1954, pp. 652-3.

and Sacraments'. Fr Alexios came forward to lay down the reasons why his Church could not join the scheme of union proposed for the Protestant communities of South India.¹⁰ He was appointed member of the Continuation Committee. In 1948, at the assembly of the World Council of Churches, at Amsterdam, Mar Theodosios represented his community, and he was accompanied by two priests. Again, at Lund, Fr K. Philippos was delegated by the Catholicos for the Conference on Faith and Order. He was secretary of the Church Section and became a member of the Faith and Order Commission, within the World Council of Churches.

It was naturally expected that any œcumenical meeting on Indian soil would see the presence of Jacobite delegates. Thus Metropolitan Mar Theodosios of Bethany attended the fifth meeting of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches (Lucknow, 31st December 1952—8th January 1953) as a full member of the Committee. He was accompanied by Fr K. Philippos, as consultant. Mar Theodosios gave his views about the problem of union, and showed himself rather adverse to any sort of intercommunion before reaching an agreement on an irreducible minimum, which should be 'the acceptance of the undivided faith of the ninth and tenth centuries'.¹¹ We can at once notice that nothing remains here, if it ever existed in India, of the true Jacobite tenet, but that Mar Theodosios assumed the often-expressed attitude of the Greek Orthodox leaders.

From 11th December till 25th, Kottayam, one of the main Christian centres of Travancore, was the venue of the Third World Conference of Christian Youth. There gathered about 300 delegates from fifty countries, the two-thirds of which were Asian. Most likely there were also representatives of the local Jacobite Youth Movement. Moreover, contacts between the delegates and the surrounding Christian communities were facilitated by visits to more than hundred parishes in the vicinity.¹²

On the occasion of this conference, a large inter-denominational convention was held in honour of the Jubilee of St Thomas the Apostle. We will mention this last event when reviewing the relations between the Jacobites and the Catholics.

¹⁰ L. Hodgson Ed., *The Second World Conference on Faith and Order*, Edinburgh, 3rd–18th August 1937, London, 1938, p. 149.

¹¹ World Council of Churches, *Minutes and Reports of the Fifth Meeting*, Geneva, s.d., p. 11.

¹² N.C.C.R., 1953 (73), pp. 48–50.

At the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston, U.S.A., in August 1954, Indian Jacobite delegates were present, at least from the catholicos' party.

As regards the relations between the Jacobites and the Catholics of Malabar, there has been in the past a good bit of ill feeling and prejudice. However, from the end of the nineteenth century till the start of Mar Ivanios' reunion movement, much progress was made towards mutual understanding and consideration. It was expected that the reunion of many thousands to the Catholic Church would provoke a short period of bitterness. For a while the spiritual motives of such leaders as Mar Ivanios, Mar Theophilos and Mar Severios were questioned, and false rumours were spread to damage their reputation. But the devotion of the reunited bishops, their perfect detachment from riches and legal quarrels won the respect even of those who did not follow them. Except for occasional outbursts of criticism, the Jacobites have learned to esteem, even to show affection towards their Catholic brethren.

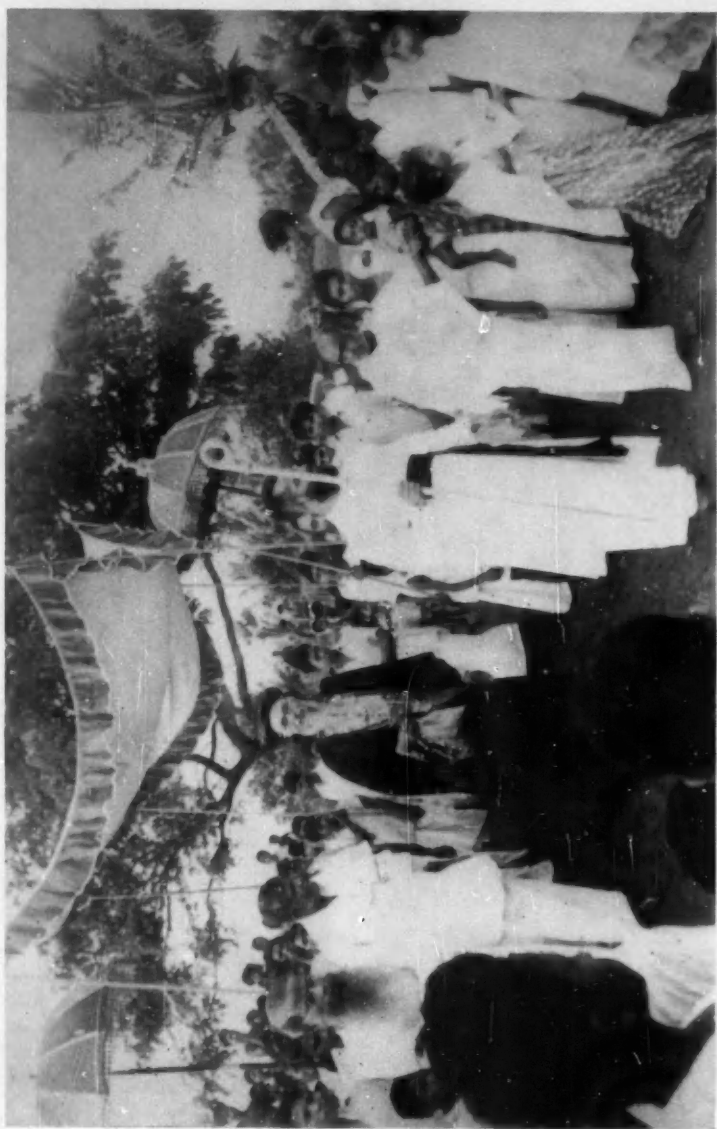
In the course of the national struggle for independence and against discrimination and communalism, there have been after the last war many examples of friendly association between the ecclesiastical leaders of the various Christian communities of Travancore. On account of the educational policy of the C. P. Ramaswamy's government in 1946-7, the Catholic bishops feel their duty to put up a strong resistance. They were backed up by the prelates of the other denominations. On this occasion several meetings took place, particularly at Kottayam. In January 1946 an All Travancore Christian Conference of laity met at Palai, a strong Catholic centre of the Syro-Malabar rite. There were present Catholics, Jacobites, Mar Thomites, Anglicans, members of the South India United Church, and of the London Missionary Society institutions.¹³

When in 1950 a new education policy was framed by the local government, a policy regarded as adverse to the interests of the Christians, again they all stood up united to claim the legitimate independence of their private agencies.

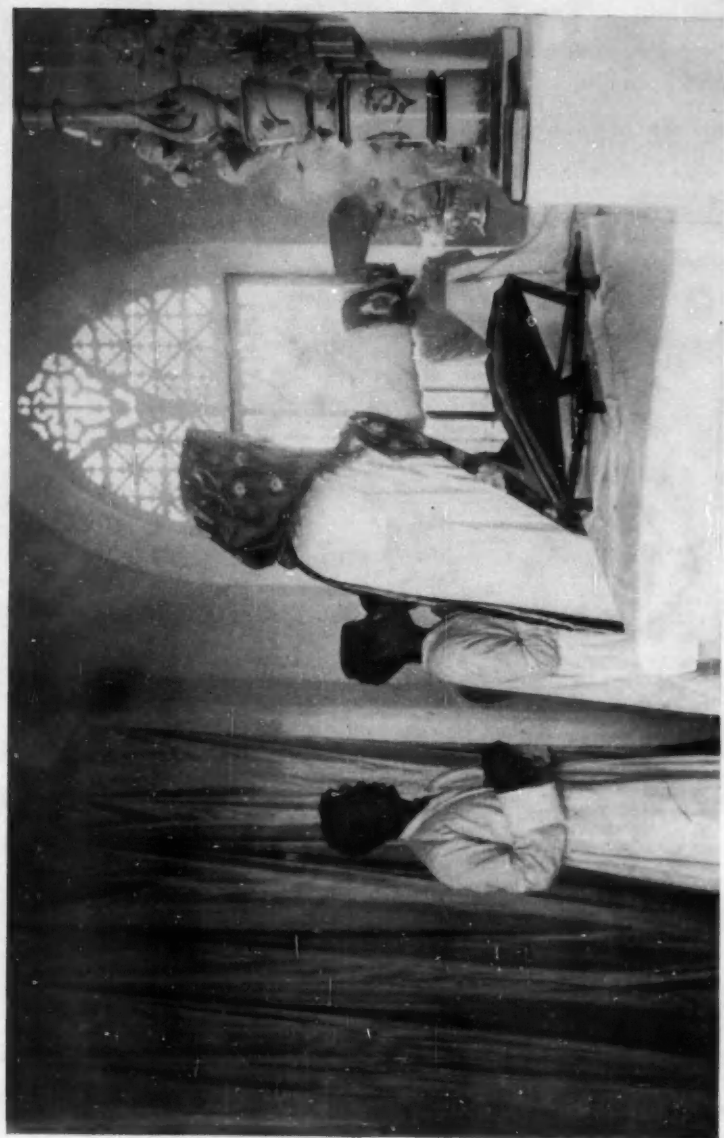
Another sign of growing mutual respect was the inter-denominational celebration held at Kottayam on 20th December 1952, on the occasion of the Jubilee of St Thomas the Apostle. Although convened under the auspices of the Protestant-inspired World Conference of Christian Youth, the meeting was merely a social one, with a tinge of religious

¹³ N.C.C.R., 1946 (66), pp. 88-9.

For a description of these pictures see News and Comments

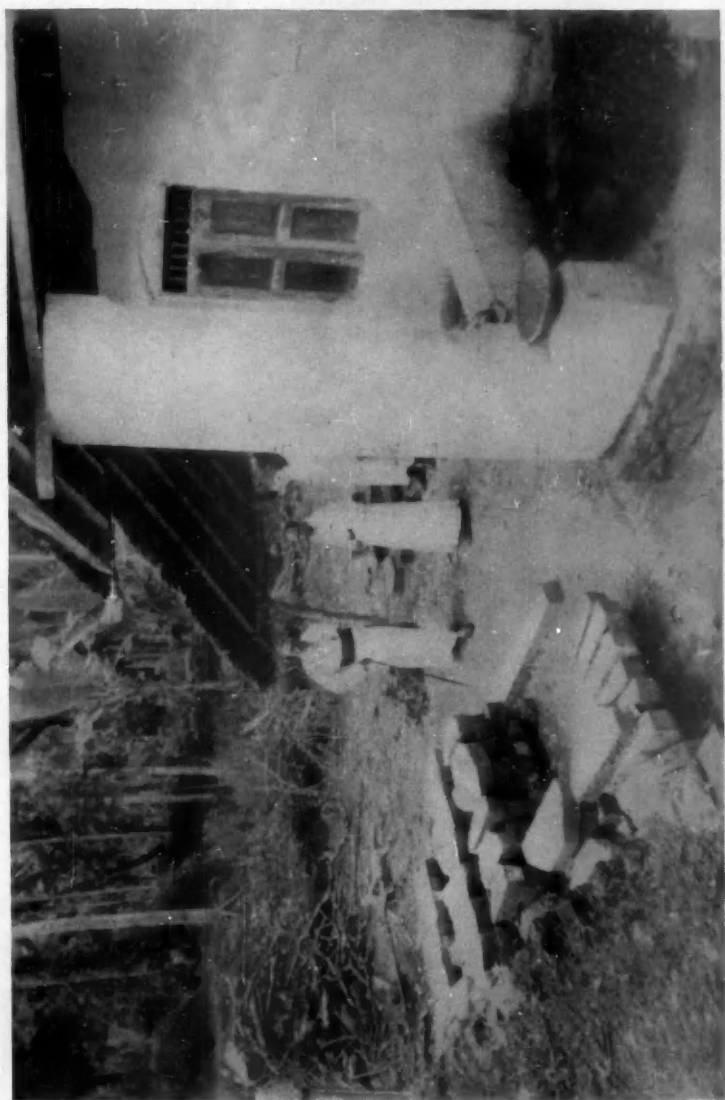


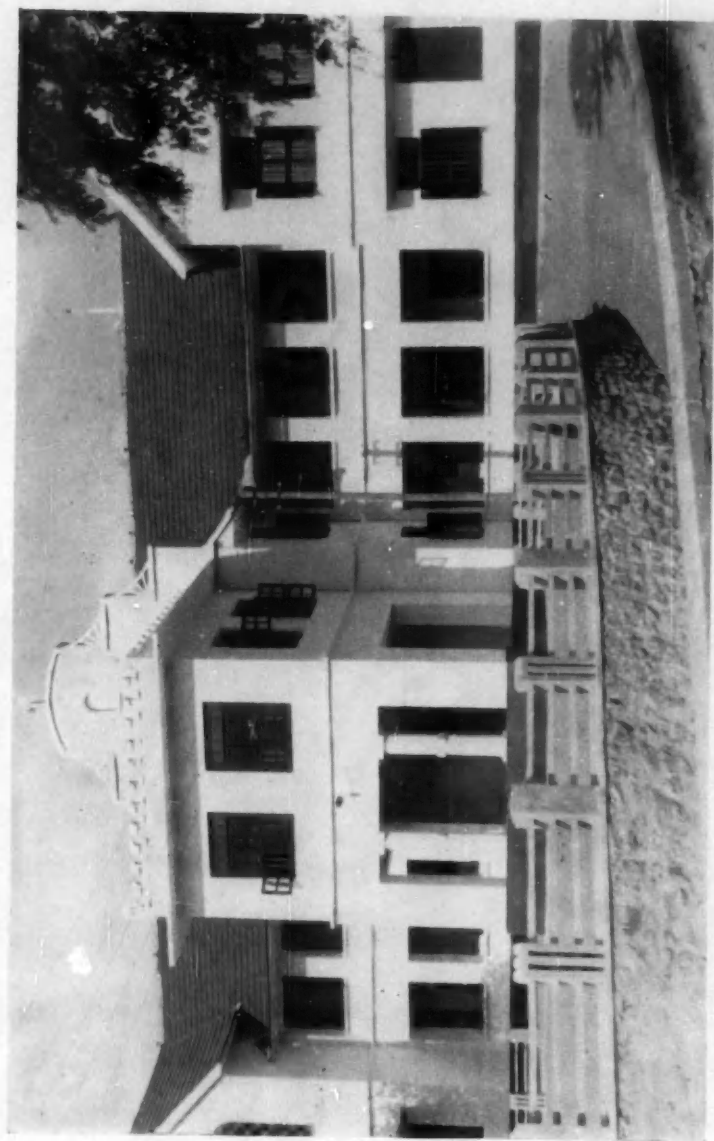


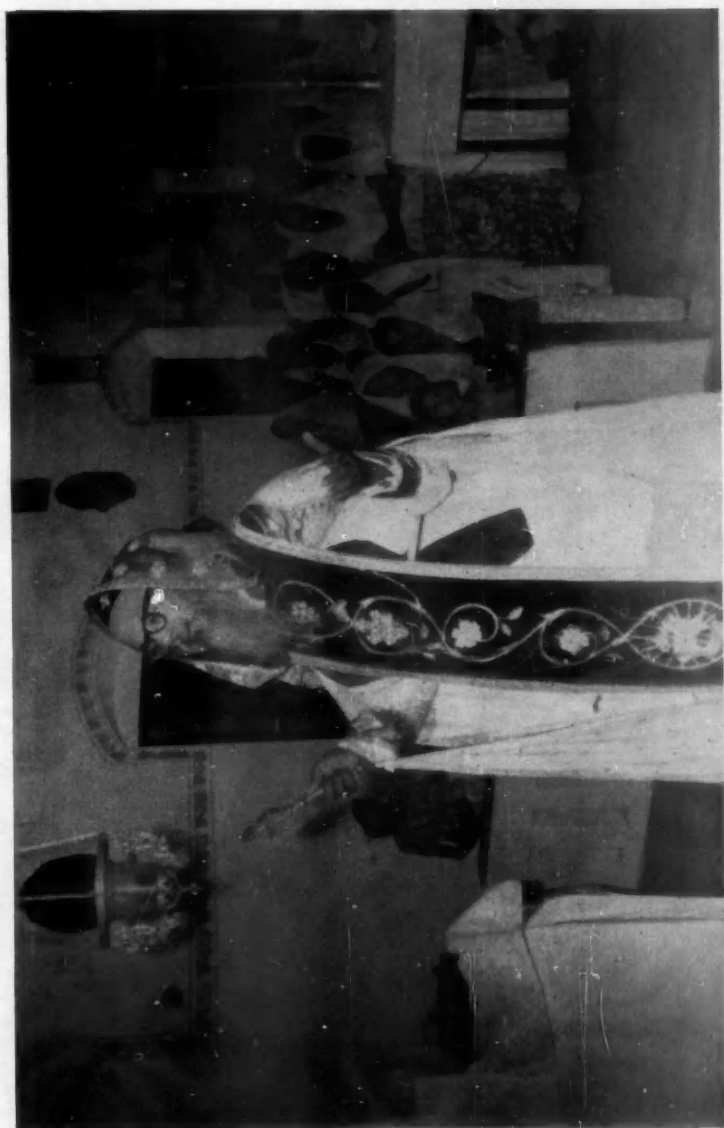
















feelings. Three Catholic bishops took their place on the platform, and the assistants could see with some amusement His Grace the late Mar Severios, one of the previous and staunchest Jacobite metropolitans (he was reunited to the Church in 1938), sitting close to his former superior, His Beatitude the Catholicos. One of the Catholic bishops, His Excellency Mar Thomas Tharayil, Syro-Malabar bishop of Kottayam, spoke to the large (more than 30,000) audience, composed mostly of Non-Catholic Christians. Outside the official Catholic delegation, I counted, in addition to the Catholicos, four Jacobite prelates and two rambans (next-to-be bishops) of his party, two Anglican Lordships, the Nestorian bishop of Trichur, the metropolitan of the Mar Thomites and his auxiliary bishop. Other speakers addressed the crowd, such as Mr Visser t'Hooft, the well-known secretary of the World Council of Churches, Mr John Mattai, already mentioned as a prominent Jacobite, and Mr Joseph Thalyath, ex-Chief Justice of Travancore and one of the most enlightened laymen of the Syro-Malabar Catholic Church.

Such examples of mutual friendship may be the result of a passing enthusiasm created by local circumstances. Yet it proves that some better understanding is possible and that some kind of mutual help can be obtained on issues, which are common to all.

In this short account of the Jacobites in India, we did not try to be complete. We wanted simply to provide the reader with a fairly accurate picture of this important section of Christian India. May it help also our dissident brethren of Malabar to look forward to the only real union, and to follow the well-trodden path of Mar Ivanios and his successors.

E. R. HAMBYE, S.J.

Kurseong, W. Bengal, India.

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THE STORY OF THE REUNION MOVEMENT

This has been shortened.—EDITOR.

MAR THEOPHILOS, the faithful colleague of the great architect Mar Ivanios, soon won the admiration of the Catholic World as a saintly Bishop. Even his enemies have respect for his person. His matchless devotion for the new mission entrusted to his care made him work hard day and night. The suffragan diocese of Tiruvalla, covering an area of about 6,000 square miles was too vast and arduous for him. He had neither money nor enough manpower at his command. He strove every nerve in spite of odds. His unshakeable confidence in the divine providence was the milestone of his success.

Born in 1891 of the Kalapurakkal Tharakan family at Olesha, a village in the vicinity of the town of Kottayam, Jacob was a devoted disciple of Fr P. T. Geevarghese, M.A. (Mar Ivanios), even from his early days, and it is no wonder that Jacob was asked to go to Sernapore College when Fr Geevarghese was appointed as a professor there. The student Jacob was admitted to the first orders of a cleric. When studies were completed, he was ordained a priest of the Bethany Congregation of the Imitation of Christ. His work as a levite of God was exemplary and soon he was raised to the dignity of a ramban. In the very heart of the town of Tiruvalla, Ramban Jacob spent his days doing good to all who went to him. He was esteemed as a God-fearing monk and people of every caste and creed waited at his door craving his paternal blessings. It is said that even Hindu ladies of high repute and nobility had sought blessings from him.

On 3rd February 1929 Ramban Jacob was consecrated Bishop of the Bethany Institution under the name of Mar Theophilos. He governed the churches under him with divine unction, and unstained zeal. Soon the long desired orders from Rome granting the new Malankara rite came, but all the Jacobite bishops did not take advantage of the new concession extended to them. Mar Ivanios and Mar Theophilos, who were sincere seekers after truth, decided to join the Catholic Church. Along with his great master the devoted disciple, Mar Theophilos made his solemn profession of faith on bended knees before the veteran missionary Bishop Benziger on 20th September 1930.

With the establishment of a Malankara hierarchy in 1932, Mar Theophilos was appointed bishop of the new suffragan diocese of Tiruvalla. He hired a building in the town which he used as his residence. He ruled the diocese with utmost devotion and meticulous care for six years. His first attention was to establish a seminary to train priests for the new diocese and, on 8th September 1932, the Infant Mary's Minor Seminary was solemnly opened, in the mission house lent by the bishop of Changanacherry. To meet the immediate needs, priests from the neighbouring Syro-Malabar diocese of Changanacherry volunteered their services, and they managed the seminary and the work of the mission. Soon the Syrian Carmelite congregation offered their services to the Reunion Movement, lending some of its zealous priests. As new mission stations were gradually opened, the opposition from the schismatics increased. New houses for the diocesan Bethany monks and nuns were also opened in Tiruvalla.

In 1933 Bishop Mar Theophilos made his 'ad limina' visit to His Holiness Pope Pius XI, and toured through Europe. It was made without much noise ; but persons of high and low rank alike, with whom His Excellency came into contact, were highly impressed by the deep inner life and burning mission zeal of the reunited prelate.

Catholic Europe generously contributed to meet the needs of the infant diocese. A seminary, few churches, and few mission churches and printing press were soon built.

Amidst his crowded programme, Mar Theophilos himself taught Syriac and liturgy to the seminarians. Some priests from the distant north were reunited with the Church, and Catholic priests from the Syro-Malabar archdiocese of Ernakulam were given charge of the northern division, of the vast mission. Catechists were trained to teach the true doctrine among the dissident brethren. Another constructive aspect of the mission work initiated by this missionary prelate was the institution of the Catholic Evidence Guild modelled on his experience in England.

It was a powerful means of propaganda of Catholic doctrines among the dissident section of Christianity. Lay Catholic young men were recruited and instructed in doctrines of faith and morals, and were sent to crowded corners of towns and villages to speak on occasions. This kind of apostolate bore immense fruit and educated separated brethren began to show greater interest to know more about the Catholic Church. Thus the new mission work was making steady progress from day to day through the untiring labours of the great prelate.

But alas! Mar Theophilos fell a victim to overwork. His health collapsed. The result was a nervous breakdown. Indeed it was a crucial test. The 'pusillus grex' was without its shepherd. The severe blow untimely delivered was enough to nip the tender mission flower in its very bud, if divine providence had not sustained it from crumbling to pieces.

Indeed supernatural aid came to the rescue. The vicar general, Mgr Zachariahs Vachaparampil, was made the administrator. Affairs of the mission were soon set right. New enthusiastic priests came out of the seminary to swell the manpower of the priestly class. The bishop regained his health partially. Some more priests were reunited.

God the Lord of harvests continued to pour his choicest graces on the Reunion Movement still more abundantly. The immediate fruit of it was the wonderful conversion of a Jacobite prelate to the Catholic Church. Mar Severios, the metropolitan of Niranam (one of the seven churches attributed to St Thomas the Apostle), was an avowed enemy of the Reunion Movement from its very inception. It is said that he was consecrated bishop to fill the void left by Mar Ivanios! In the early stage, he fought with the zeal of a Saul setting up his people against the scanty groups of Catholics springing up here and there. In the thick of the fight, the heavenly light made him fall from his horse.

Herein commences the romance of Mar Severios's life within the Church. As a Jacobite, he had read Catholic apologetics and spiritual treatises to combat Catholic doctrines. This study left deep impressions on his mind, and at last in his heart, he was convinced of the authenticity of Catholic doctrines. In the dead of night on 26th November 1937, the metropolitan of Niranam was very busy packing his personal belongings in his room at the famous Jacobite Perumala Seminary. Everything was done in stealth and before dawn he had left his episcopal residence for good. He left honours to court ignominy. He had everything, but now possessed nothing. Under the pretext of making a pastoral visit in one of the parishes in the south he drove the car southward. It did not stop on the way until it reached the Archbishop's House at Trivandrum where Mar Ivanios, the great master, received Mar Severios.

At dawn news leaked out that Mar Severios had run away to join the Catholic Church. A set of bigots followed their pastor who left them in the stealth of night, but in vain. On 29th November Mar Severios made his profession of faith

before Mar Ivanios, the great Architect of the Reunion Movement.

Joseph Valakuzhiyil was born on 7th April 1894. When he joined the Mar Dionysios Seminary High School at Kottayam. Fr P. T. Geevarghese, M.A. (Mar Ivanios), was its principal, and our young man, already in cleric, had the rare privilege of being one of the few chosen disciples of that Great Master. When Fr P. T. Geevarghese accepted the post of professor at Serampore Protestant College, near Calcutta, the cleric Joseph also joined that college to complete his University studies. When he graduated he was sent as a missionary to Brammawar in North Malabar. Later on he was taken on to the staff of the Mar Gregorios Memorial High School at Tiruvalla. On 7th January 1929 he was ordained priest by his renowned uncle Mar Dionysios. As vicar of his own parish church he did much for the people, especially to the poor.

In September 1938 the Decree (Bull) appointing Joseph Mar Severios as the administrator apostolic of the diocese of Tiruvalla reached the Little Flower Mount, and he was solemnly enthroned on 5th October. For the past sixteen years the great disciple of the great master Mar Ivanios, laboured strenuously with the burning zeal of a St Paul. Work was his pleasure and mission-tour was his relaxation. He sat at his desk till late hours to go through his arrear files. He was extremely prompt in correspondence, and was a delightful talker.

The churches he built, the mission stations he opened, the schools he founded, the branches of convents he established are numerous, and are scattered over the southern and northern parts of the vast mission diocese. Whenever the ardent missionary launched new schemes, many were cold to support them, but to-day they look with wonder and admiration on the marvels he has done. Often the good bishop was very short of funds, but, confiding in the inexhaustible providence of God, he never wavered but went on with his diverse enterprises. He worked only for the greater glory of God and so all his schemes met with unique success. The new Bishop's House at Mary Giri, in the heart of the town, which His Eminence Cardinal Tisserant blessed and occupied for the first time, silently speaks to the passer-by about the Catholic Church and the great Archbishop Mar Severios.

It was in 1950 that Joseph Mar Severios had paid his 'ad limina' visit to the reigning Pontiff Pope Pius XII. The Holy Father was very much interested in listening to the

simple narration of facts and figures regarding the growth and development of the diocese with the aid of photographs. During the one month stay in Rome, Mar Severios made himself likeable to all. He toured through Western Europe, England and Ireland and visited the famous pilgrimage centres such as Lourdes, Lisieux and Fatima. On the return journey, he halted at Beirut and visited the Holy Land.

At the end of 1950, Mar Severios became residential bishop of Tiruvalla, and Mar Theophilos was given a titular bishopric.

While in Rome His Excellency had invited His Eminence Cardinal Tisserant to visit Malabar in 1952 for the Centenary Year of St Thomas the Apostle. His Eminence came to Malabar and went through a regular programme of visits through the country in 1953. His Eminence showed special predilection to Mar Severios and to the Tiruvalla Diocese. His Eminence himself blessed the new Bishop's House and chapel, and condescended to spend three days in this mission. On 24th November His Eminence visited the cradle of the Reunion Movement at Thirumoolapuram and laid the foundation stone for the new church to be built on that historic spot and to be consecrated in the Silver Jubilee year of the great missionary movement among the dissidents of Malabar.

Closely following upon the visit of His Eminence, the Holy See conferred on His Excellency Mar Severios two special honours firstly raising him to the dignity of Archbishop 'ad personam', and then nominating an auxiliary bishop to assist him in discharging the multifarious duties incumbent on his office. In the presence of His Excellency the Internuncio Martin Lucas and many other bishops of Malabar, the new auxiliary bishop, Rt Rev. Zacharias Mar Athanasios, was consecrated on 22nd April 1954 by Archbishop Mar Severios.

Joseph Mar Severios had been a victim of diabetes. But it was no check on his incessant mission activities. Nobody thought that His Excellency's health was in immediate danger. Even doctors did not warn him of the acute nature of the disease. The archbishop took things very lightly and calmly, and was attending to the regular programme of mission work. While in the northern missions, all of a sudden he began to feel uneasy and became a little anxious. He cancelled his programme and hurried back to Tiruvalla. At 5.45 p.m. on 18th January 1955 he reached his residence the Mary Giri, Bishop's House, thoroughly exhausted. Doctors were called in. They observed the gravity of the situation. The archbishop

was sinking. His auxiliary, Rt Rev. Zacharias Mar Athanasios, administered the last sacraments. The priests and seminarists wept at the sight of the violent agony of the good pastor. At 7.45 p.m. the great missionary archbishop slept in the Lord. It was a sudden separation giving a shock to all his numerous friends and faithful children. They mourned the loss of their beloved Father.

Like the Church in the catacombs, the Reunion Movement made silent but rapid progress notwithstanding the antagonism of the teeming millions. To-day it is a divine marvel to friends and foes alike. It has cast deep roots and leafy branches in all directions, during these twenty-five years, of its existence. The Colossal pioneers have cut the path and smoothened the way. Their sweat and sacrifice have swelled her sap. The rank and file of humanity in this land have replenished her strength.

ZACHARIAS MAR ATHANASIOS.

STATISTICS

DIOCESE OF TIRUVALLA

Mission Stations, 111	Retreat House, 1
Priests, 65	Elementary Schools, 21
Major Seminarists, 28	High Schools, 7
Minor Seminarists, 21	Training Schools, 1
Nuns, 63	Printing Press, 1
Faithful, 19,000	Journals, 1
Monasteries, 1	Orphanages, 2
Convents, 5	

BETHANY

A SILVER JUBILEE

THE protestant Church of South India recently made a dramatic entry on to the religious stage when it was admitted to limited intercommunion with the Church of England. But this must not be allowed to steal the limelight from another event of a very different kind which occurs this year also in the South of India : the Silver Jubilee of a reunion which marked the fulfilment of a movement in quite another direction, that of the Order of the Imitation of Christ with the Roman Catholic Church.

Little seems to be known of this congregation, which however is doing its utmost to win India for the true Church of Christ, and so the purpose of this article will be to convey some idea of this Order, of its members (also known as the Bethany Fathers), and of the Syro-Malankara rite to which they belong.

FOUNDATION OF THE ORDER OF THE IMITATION OF CHRIST

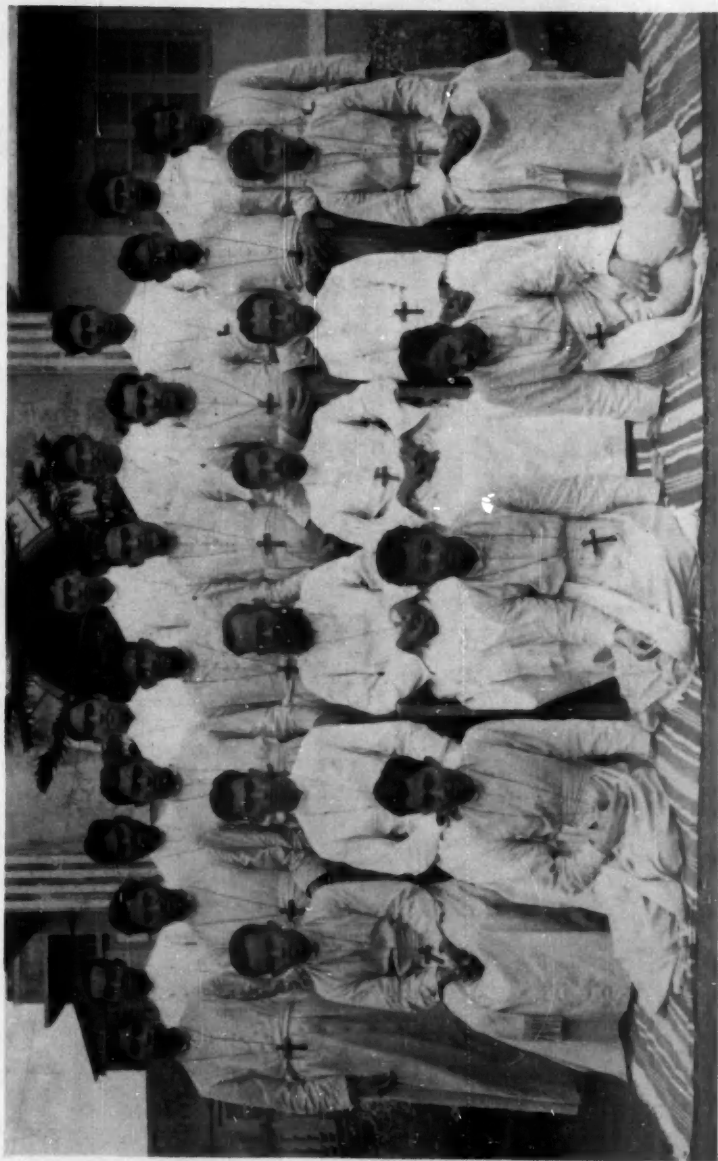
At the beginning of this century a dispute took place between the Antiochene patriarch's party and that of the Indian Catholicos within the Malabar Jacobite Church. During the disagreement, Fr Geevarghese Panikervettil, later Mar Ivanios, O.I.C., archbishop of Trivandrum, had been a faithful and brilliantly gifted follower of Mar Dionysius, the metropolitan of the catholicos's party. Experiences undergone during those years inspired Fr Geevarghese with a desire to bring about a thorough reformation of his Church.

During a lull in the conflict he was called to Serampore, near Calcutta, where he was professor for some years. Originally he had hoped to reform the M.D. Seminary at Kottayam in the South. Now he began to think more of founding a completely separate seminary for the priesthood, staffed by professors he had already trained at Serampore (Mar Theophilos, O.I.C. and Mar Severios were among these foundation-members). Expenses were heavy and he lacked funds ; at first he was obliged to devote most of his own salary to supporting the enterprise.

As time went on, Fr Geevarghese became more and more conscious of the missionary vocation of the Christian Church in Malabar. He reflected with regret on the history of the Malabar Christians, which had been chequered by a long series of quarrels ; he deplored that foreign missionaries should



MOST REV. BENEDICT MAR GREGORIOS, O.I.C.
Archbishop of Trivandrum



The Scholastics of the Order of the Imitation of Christ at the Papal Seminary at Poona.

have long been doing in India what ought to have been the work of members of his own Church. Gradually the idea of a teaching career paled before the vision of active mission work. However, he was persuaded that the permanence and integrity of such work could only be ensured in and through the three vows, full dedication to God and a life of prayer. Through intensive reading and contact with other religious orders, both Catholic and High Church Anglican, Fr Givergis slowly filled in the framework of his idea for a religious congregation, which ultimately came into being on 15th August 1919.

For his first foundation he chose a forest site at Perunad in Tiruvalla on the Malabar Coast. While considering what he should name his house, his eyes one day happened to fall on the name 'Bethany' in a Scripture Concordance; at the same time he recalled that Lazarus, Martha and Mary had been intimate friends of our Lord; this quality he wished to be the especial mark of the members of his congregation. The first house of his congregation he named Bethany and every subsequent house, or Asram, has been so called. The congregation itself was christened the Order of the Imitation of Christ.

LIFE IN THE ORDER IN THE JACOBITE CHURCH

Since India was to be the mission-field of the nascent order, Fr Geevarghese—addressed as the Aboon (meaning 'Father')—resolved that everything about it should be as purely Indian as possible. He chose saffron colour for the dress of the members; they wore wooden sandals and a small black cross hung on their breasts. Their diet was to be strictly vegetarian; much time was devoted to reading and prayer—the rest to manual labour. The fathers were persuaded that a liturgical revival would be a powerful means of renewing the spiritual life of their church, and the ceremonies in their churches were performed with the greatest care. After two years' training, the novices were sent to different mission-stations for a time. Those who were found suitable were then ordained priests; the rest remained as sadhus (lay-brothers).

The fame of the new congregation spread quickly. Soon people were flocking to Perunad in thousands to steep themselves in the deep spirituality they found there. In Lent temporary sheds had to be erected each year to accommodate the tens of thousands gathered there to hear the retreats and to take part in the exquisitely performed liturgical services.

Because of its missionary character and to keep it aloof from party strife, the catholicos and the bishops agreed that the Order of the Imitation of Christ should not be placed under the jurisdiction of an ordinary; instead, Fr Geevarghese was very soon consecrated Mar Ivanios (which means 'John'), bishop of Bethany. He was empowered to found mission-stations and chapels wherever he thought them strategic, and within a few years there were in existence no less than thirty Bethany churches, a number of mission-stations, an orphanage, printing press and a flourishing retreat-house, some well beyond the confines of the Malabar Coast.

THE BETHANY NUNS

Here we must digress a little in order to recount the founding of the Bethany Convent for women.

A prominent Jacobite layman had once thought of opening a school for the girls of his church. To this end he got so far as erecting a building, but the project was never completed. When contemplating the reform of the M.D. Seminary, the unachieved desire of this layman returned to Fr Givergis's mind. For a start he took some promising young girls to Calcutta where they were educated at the diocesan college and in the convent conducted by the High Church Oxford Mission sisters at Barisol.

When Fr Geevarghese decided to start his Asram, he consulted Mother Edith, of the Barisol community, on the possibility of his founding a convent for women based on his own ideal for the religious life. To realize the project Mother Edith readily undertook to give suitable religious training to young girls in her convent, who afterwards returned to the Malabar Coast to establish their own community.

The Bethany printing-press was a gift to the Bethany sisters from an American lady as a token of her appreciation of their work.

REUNION AND AFTERWARDS

In the meantime, the dispute between the two parties within the Church was increasing in intensity and Mar Ivanios was called away to assist the catholicos. Fr Jacob, O.I.C., was consequently consecrated Bishop Mar Theophilos, suffragan to Archbishop Mar Ivanios.

The whole history of the Bethany Asram has its turning-point here. The more deeply Mar Ivanios became involved in the dispute, the more deeply was he forced to study the

canons of the early Church—particularly those pertaining to patriarchal jurisdiction. He rapidly came to the conclusion that the Reesh patriarch, i.e. the chief patriarch, was without doubt the bishop of Rome.

He put his conclusions before the members of his Asram ; books on Catholic doctrine and asceticism were made available to them ; the identity of the true church became a frequent subject of discussion with the community. Soon it was clear that nearly all were feeling their way towards the Roman Catholic Church. Mar Ivanios was convinced early where the truth lay, but he delayed his own submission, waiting for a favourable moment when he might draw the whole of the episcopate with him. His hopes were in vain. By 1930 Mar Ivanios could wait no longer, and on 20th September of that year, he and Mar Theophilos, together with almost all the nuns, priests and brothers of the Order of the Imitation of Christ, returned to the true fold of Christ.

On their reunion the Fathers of the congregation were obliged to leave behind the whole of their 400 acre estate, their chapels, mission-stations inside and outside Malabar, their press—everything. They were literally homeless until they managed to rent a house from a Hindu. Later they moved to Trivandrum, working with Mar Ivanios, and after some time several were sent to Tiruvalla to help Mar Theophilos.

Many of the Fathers were sent for training to houses of the first and third Orders of the Discalced Carmelites, and returned much better equipped for their ministry. Other Catholic religious orders in India have also shown themselves most friendly disposed towards the movement.

Some 40,000 Jacobites have been reunited to Rome through the work of these Fathers : a consoling thought were not well over a million still outside the fold.

In due course the Constitutions of the congregation were revised, and they have recently been officially approved by Rome. The two houses in Trivandrum and Tiruvalla long remained independent of each other ; it was not until 1947 that Mar Ivanios resolved to bring the different houses under one Superior General. In 1952 Mgr Augusto Lombardi was appointed apostolic visitor.

The congregation now possesses two formed houses, one scholasticate and two mission houses. Manpower is distributed between twenty-five parishes and a 'comprehensive' school for 1,000 boys. Two Fathers dispense herbal medicines for a variety of complaints, including snake-bite and certain forms

of insanity which have failed to respond to any other cures.

The community-life is built round the celebration of the Holy Liturgy and the Divine Office; when two or more members are together, the Office is always sung in Syriac. In addition, the prayer-life of the Order includes an hour's meditation, the recitation of the Rosary and examinations of conscience every day.

The results of our labours may as yet have been on a small scale. They are, however, but an earnest of what we hope to achieve once we have sufficient resources at our disposal: the reunion of the entire Jacobite Church with Rome and then, in concert with our Latin brothers, the drawing of India's non-Christian millions to the world's sole Treasury of absolute Truth and Wisdom.

FATHER GABRIEL, O.I.C.

* * * *

PRESENT (1955) STATISTICS OF BETHANY

		<i>Asram</i>	<i>Convents</i>
Houses	.	5	12
Schools	.	1	7
Hostels and Boarding Institutions	.	—	5
Members : Fathers	19		
Lay-brothers	5		
Students	36		
	—	60	132
Bishops	.	2	—
Orphanages	.	—	2

NEWS AND COMMENTS

We must first express to His All Holiness Athenagoras, œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, our great sorrow for the suffering, sacrilege, and barbarism that has taken place in Istanbul and Smyrna. We assure the Orthodox peoples of our sympathy and prayers.

* * * *

THE ILLUSTRATIONS

We have to thank Fr Hambye, s.j., for most of these illustrations.

For frontispiece we give Mar Athanasios, the new bishop of Tiruvalla. He had been appointed only recently auxillary to Mar Sevenios to whose diocese he now succeeds.

The photograph of the new archbishop of Trivandrum, Mar Gregorios, has been placed by that of the Order of the Imitation of Christ to which he belongs.

In the group of students of the Order of the Imitation of Christ at Poona is Fr Peter their Superior-General in the middle, on his left is Fr Gabriel, O.I.C.

Of the group of ten photographs nine illustrate the work of the Reunion Movement under Mar Severios. The last, however, shows an interdenominational meeting during the jubilee celebrations of St Thomas in 1952. Here we give a description of them according to their numbers :

1. The reception of Mar Severios in the newly reunited centre of Mukkoor, near Tiruvalla in November 1951.
2. Blessing of the altar of the new church at Mukkoor.
3. Beginning of the *Qurbano* in the same church.
4. Reconciliation of a Jacobite lady in same.
5. A chapel in bamboo near Piravam, where several families were reconciled. The father, a married priest, is an octagenarian and has two sons, priests. December 1953.
6. Another station near Tiruvalla: Mar Severios in conversation with the local priest, also reconciled, November 1951.
7. The new house of the bishop of Tiruvalla, blessed by Cardinal Tisserant, 1953.
8. Beginning of the *Qurbano* in Cathedral of Tiruvalla, Christmas 1953.
9. Reception of Cardinal Tisserant at Trivandrum in November 1953, in the cathedral under construction. He is accompanied by Mar Severios and Mar Gregorios and blesses the people with the hand-cross.
10. Interdenominational meeting of Kottayam during the jubilee of St Thomas. The Syro-Malabar bishop of Kottayam, Mar Thomas Tharayul, addressing the assembly. From left to right: Bishop C. K. Jacob of C.S.I., Mar Severios in the centre.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

L'Ame roumaine écartelée: Faits et documents. Par Pierre Gherman. Pp. 258 (Editions du Cèdre, Paris) n.p.

While the press frequently recurs to the difficulties of Catholics in Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and keeps us well informed about the persecution of the leaders of the Church in those countries, not nearly so much attention is paid to the Western Ukraine and to Rumania, where whole churches have been 'liquidated' and whole hierarchies cast into jail or worse. In *E.C.Q.*, VIII, 3 (1949) Mr Ion Ratiu gave a long account of the Communist attack on the Byzantine churches in Rumania; Fr Gherman's book fills out this account in detail, and includes the Catholic dioceses of Latin rite as well.

The whole work is admirably documented, and written with moderation. It is gratifying to learn that many Orthodox in Rumania disavowed the actions of those of their hierarchs who collaborated in the governmental onslaught on the 'uniates'; and Fr Gherman prints the documents addressed to Cardinal Tisserant and to Pope Pius XII, in which the Orthodox Rumanians of Paris declared their solidarity with their Catholic brethren. Fr Gherman also prints extracts from letters of suffering Christians in Rumania that are as moving as they are informative. They give some sort of idea of the conditions and treatment under which a vigorous and comparatively young man like Bishop Basil Aftenie lost his reason, and died thus.

L'Ame roumaine écartelée gives an added interest to Dom I. Doens' detailed examination, in *Irenikon*, XXVII, 1 and 3 (1954), of the recent reform legislation of the Orthodox Patriarch Justinian in Rumania.

D.A.

An Abridged Euchologion. Edited by the Rev. David F. Abramtsov. Pp. 120 (Orthodox Catholic Literature Association, Philadelphia, Pa.) \$3. *Office of the Pannychis* (same editor and publisher). Pp. 50, n.p. *Liturgical Catechism.* Pp. 110 (Byzantine-Slavonic Catholic Exarchate, Pittsburgh, Pa.) n.p. *Christ With Us.* Pp. 307. *We Magnify Thee.* Edited by Bishop Ambrose Senyshyn. Pp. 129 (Catholic Ukrainian Seminary, Stamford, Conn.) n.p.

The first of these booklets contains, in English throughout, rites and prayers for the use of Orthodox priests in emergencies

of sickness and the like, together with a section of blessings. The collection is compiled from the Greek, Serbian and Russian books. Among the offices are those for the reception of a convert, the re-establishment of the marriage of divorced persons and the adoption of a child, and prayers for an attempted suicide and for one sentenced to death. The second booklet contains the Office of the Dead in Slavonic and English. The English translation is dignified and clear in both works.

The *Liturgical Catechism* is for Catholic Ruthenians in America. In 309 questions and answers it gives a detailed account of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, fortified by illustrations and much pedagogical apparatus. It is well produced and thorough, and makes a useful reference book for Ruthenian usage. But occasionally there seems to be a certain lack of proportion: e.g. the antimimension gets twenty lines, the epiklesis two and a half.

The two Ukrainian publications are prayer-books, nicely produced in a handy size. *Christ With Us* contains the Chrysostom liturgy, English and Slavonic in parallel columns, the last with a transliteration interlined. This makes the book specially useful for anyone not familiar with the rite, the large number of illustrative drawings being a further help. *We Magnify Thee* gives the text of five *moleben*, to our Lord and His Sacred Heart, two to the Mother of God, and one to the hieromartyr, St Josaphat. The English is at times a little stiff and stilted, but it is a considerable improvement on many American translations. Both books give a selection of chant, clearly printed, including the Resurrection tones and the responses and ordinary parts of the eucharistic liturgy. The Ukrainian exarchate and its auxiliary bishop, Kyr Ambrose Senyshyn, must be congratulated on these publications.

X.Y.Z.

Studies in the Russian Euchologion by Fr Denis Rudolph Kiwicz, O.F.M. Pp. 68 (Rome) n.p.

This is the first fascicule of a detailed study, juridical, historical and liturgical, of the rites for the dedication of a church according to Russian and Ruthenian usages: this instalment includes an introduction, bibliography and Chapter i, on the juridical aspect. It is an expert work, primarily for

students of the subject ; but it is of interest to others, especially as containing an unusually clear and *nuancé* account of the meaning of a complicated terminology—the epithets Russian, Muscovite, Ruthenian, Rusin, Ukrainian and the rest—and the historical factors that explain it.

D.A.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Oxford University Press : *The Eastern Schism*, Steven Runciman.

Mowbray : *The Armenian Church* Malachia Ormanian (revised edition) ; *The Convocations and South India*, E. L. Mascall, D.D.

Oliver and Boyd : *Royal Priesthood*, T. F. Torrance.

Les Editions du Cerf : *Conférences*, I. Jean Cassien.

S.P.C.K. : *The Pseudo-Cyprianic De Pascha Computus*, George Ogg.

Church Information Board : *The Church of South India*.

Geneva, John Knox House : *Our Ecumenical Task in the Light of History*, Dr W. A. Visser t'Hooft.

Black : *Christianity and the State in the light of History*, T. M. Parker.

Burns Oates : *The Meaning of the Monastic Life*, Louis Bouyer. *Our Time is Now*, M. O'Leary.

S.C.M. Press : *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa*, ed. W. Telfer.

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